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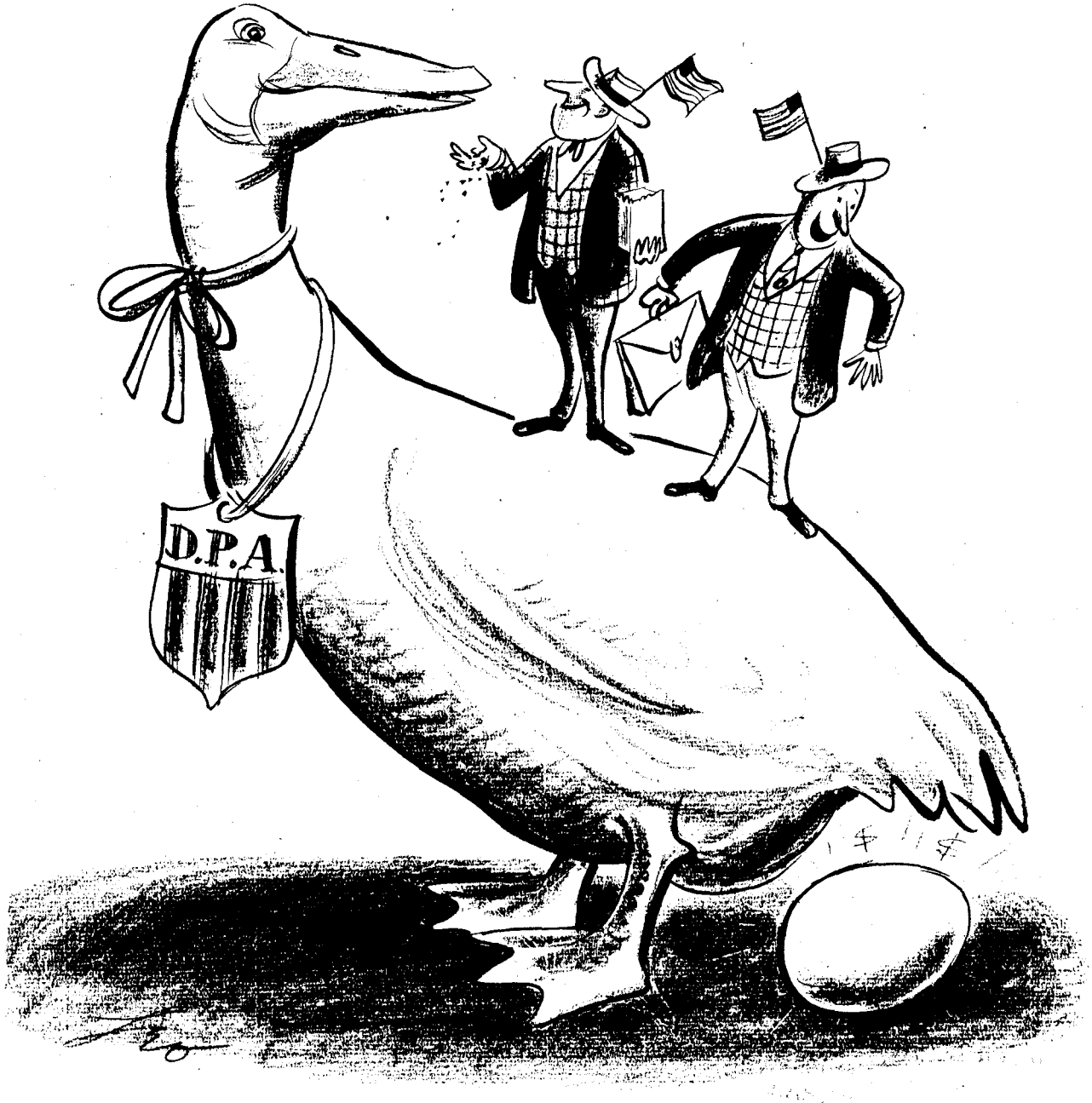
New Republic



The Golden Egg of War Profits

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CORRESPONDENCE

Disbarment for Discrimination

SIR: The Association of American Law Schools, a national accrediting agency, is presently considering an amendment to its articles which would "require abolition of segregation by member schools as a condition of membership in the Association."

The amendment was proposed by the Yale Law School to implement a resolution adopted by the body last year in which it was stated that "the AALS opposes the continued maintenance of segregration or discrimination in legal education on racial grounds, and asserts its belief that it is the professional duty of all member schools to abolish any such practices at the earliest practicable time." Loss of membership would amount to a severe loss in prestige and rank. Consequently many "lily-white" privately endowed schools are opposing the measure.

As a representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, I was among those testifying in behalf of the Yale amendment at hearings held at Washington, D. C., recently.

The Yale proposal is significant because it provides a technique for bringing moral pressure upon private schools now outside the jurisdiction of the courts. Here are some of the points brought out in my testimony:

1. A university which practises segregation or discrimination on racial or religious grounds cannot maintain adequate standards for the training of students and is unworthy of recognition by an academic accrediting agency. Segregation makes a deep and lasting impression on the student, distorting the outlook of both the students "favored" and the students discriminated against. To make segregation an educational policy is to deny basic scientific, moral and political values and, as a result, to deny students the necessary preparation for life in a free, democratic society.

2. If segregation subverts the educational objectives of a university, it also thwarts the purposes of the professional school which is part of that institution. A law school that discriminates cannot, either morally or practically, execute the functions of a law school.

Segregation makes the practical training of the legal student extremely difficult. Justice Vinson in the Sweatt case pointed out that the Negro law school in Texas, because it excluded a "substantial and significant" part of the population, was inadequate and inferior to the white school at the University of Texas. By the same logic, a white school that discriminates must be judged inferior to one that does not. The Southern law school that practises segregation is excluding approximately 25 percent of the population. Furthermore, from the ranks of the legal profession come a large proportion of our government officials—local, state and federal. It is obvious that a person cut off from all normal contacts with 25 percent of the population is not trained psychologically or otherwise to understand or to represent all of the people.

3. Other academic and professional societies are re-examining their policies and are taking steps to correct past deficiencies. Last month the North Carolina Academy of Science dropped the racial bar to membership. In January, 1951, the American Nurses Association and the Association of Negro Graduate Nurses merged. Various state and regional organizations of librarians, sociologists and other professional orders have been meeting in the South for years without segregation. The widely attended annual dental clinic at Tuskegee Institute is held on an integrated basis, and the Florida Medical Association is an example of a conservative professional society which recently has admitted Negroes to membership.

4. There is now ample evidence to indicate that a substantial segment of the South would welcome the immediate elimination of segregation in higher education. Last fall, an SCEF survey revealed that more than 200 Negroes were enrolled in 21 Southern colleges and universities, formerly all white.. An SCEF poll of 15,000 college and university teachers of the South revealed that 70 percent of the 3,422 replies favored admitting Negroes now to existing graduate and professional schools *without segregation.*

In April, 1950, the First Southwide Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education, held at Atlanta University under the sponsorship of 225 teachers from 116 Southern colleges and universities, in a unanimous resolution called for an end to segregation and quotas.

In my opinion, segregation in higher education in the South would disappear immediately if the decision were left to the present generation of college youth instead of to their elders. There have been numerous polls of student opinion on this issue, uniformly in favor of eliminating segregation.

Gains have been registered in fields other than education. In compliance with an executive order, all Air Force installations in the South were converted overnight to a policy of non-segregation, without difficulty. There is no trouble on airplanes, where there is no discrimination, and the same is true in recent months of railway dining cars. Ten major Southern cities have now opened their main

(*Continued on page 4*)

BANDWAGON

Let Sense Be Dumb, Let Flesh Retire

Hymn Singing Is Advised
As Bomb Panic Stopper
– *Headline on a story in the New York* Times.

Noblesse Oblige

He [Dr. William J. Fordrung of Hunter College] admitted that other members of the department adhered to the prescribed subject-matter and did not take up "morals and ethics," but this, he added, was because they were not competent to do so. – *From a report in the New York* Times *of the suspension of Dr. Fordrung for taking a "sensational and unwholesome" approach in teaching sex hygiene.*

Fiddler's Folly

Szigeti's application for citizenship originally had been approved by immigration and naturalization authorities in Washington but local examiners asked that a hearing be held because the violinist had appeared on a Russian war-relief benefit program here during the war and played a Russian sonata, the score for which he obtained from the Russian Embassy. – *From the Los Angeles* Times.

Little Nuisances

Meanwhile there were reports that still a fourth petition is being circulated. It would call upon the county commissioners to move the Searchlight (Nev.) school building because, paradoxically, it is jeopardizing the operation of one of the town's bawdy houses. Under state law, no such house can be located within 300 yards of a school. – *Dispatch from Las Vegas to the Reno* Evening Gazette.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE CONFESS that now and then, as we thumb over the crazier aspects of Washington life, our naturally sunny disposition is flecked with gloom. We find ourselves asking, "Who cares? Who hears our penny trumpet? The world is busy with the comics!" Well, judge for yourself if attention is necessary.

In exuberance over the prospective cease-fire in Korea, Congress has gone on an inflation rampage. With cool contempt for the consumer, the Senate voted to kill price rollbacks by a shocking 61-to-26 majority.

Congress is not merely irresponsible; the structural machinery of Congress is itself hopelessly outdated. Lacking genuine two-party discipline, it is incapable of carrying the modern work load. After six months not one of the necessary appropriation bills was passed at the fiscal-year deadline on June 30, when all are supposed to be passed.

But this only begins our gripe. There are deeper matters. Not long ago an amendment slipped into the Constitution limiting the voter's right to choose the President he wants: no man after Truman can run more than twice. That is America's ironic answer to Franklin Roosevelt. How did this amendment pass? The public was reading the comic strips.

Now an effort is being made to write a still more desperate amendment for millionaires into the Constitution: it would limit federal taxation to 25 percent of income. Incredibly enough, 25 of the 32 state legislatures necessary to force a Constitutional Convention in its behalf have already endorsed it. How many voters knew their legislatures were doing this? Local papers gave them the comic strips and not the news.

Then again, the House Judiciary Committee last week blandly voted to give away the priceless national heritage of off-shore oil for private exploitation.

There are political dangers, too. McCarthy called George Marshall a "traitor" in the Senate, and not a single Republican rose to rebuke him.

In the Presidential contest now shaping up, the leading GOP contender is Taft. If elected he would throw back the very bolts in Europe to Communist aggression by taking America back into her old, outmoded "nationalist" role in world affairs, supported by the Chicago *Tribune*.

We are happy to fight Taft and Communism whether separately or in conjunction. Sometimes readers complain that nonconformist magazines are shrill and strident. They disturb us as we read the comics! But, if it's opium you want, try the multi-million media, or find escape for half a buck at the corner Hollywood doss-house. It's our job to protest these vicious things. Is it only a tin horn we're blowing? Well, let us make it squawk then; maybe we can wake the neighbors.

After eight weeks and two million words of testimony, the 26 Senators who investigated MacArthur's dismissal have decided to issue no formal report. And why should they? MacArthur said, or implied, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff supported his position; under oath the Joint Chiefs said that they did not. What more is there to report?

Dixiecrats are out to stop Truman's renomination. Senator Byrd (D, Va.) denounced the Administration at the Jefferson-Jackson dinner at Atlanta in a speech endorsed by Senators George and Russell. Governor Byrnes of South Carolina is helping the stop-Truman movement. The Dixiecrat revolt seeks also to restore the South's old convention veto power by restoring the "two-thirds" rule, instituted in 1831 and killed in 1936.

On the Republican side, a green light for Eisenhower has unmistakably flashed. A "stop-Taft" organization is being

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formed, and word comes from Paris of Ike's intentions, firm enough to cause Governor Dewey, Pennsylvania's Senator Duff, ex-Senator Harry Darby (R, Kansas) and others to start a formal movement. Duff will see Ike personally this summer. Ike's answers have not yet been direct or final but are sufficiently satisfying to make leaders feel justified in starting the boom.

Rock-ribbed New England conservatives, particularly utility heads, want no truck with federal projects. New England power costs are among the highest in the country. There is no competition from public power because the Federal Government is rigidly excluded. Now comes a fascinating survey of New England economy, sponsored by the President's Council of Economic Advisers and under such local auspices as to command respect. It shows that the Federal Government takes more cash out of New England than it puts in. It amounts to six percent of the area's income. The US would like to help develop TVA in New England—but that would mean competition with the local power trust, so it is blocked. In New England alone, there is no federal hydro-electric development, although there are 156 elsewhere in the USA. Federal slum clearance is shunned too. The report shows that while Yankee conservatives whooped up the Taft-Hartley law, its effect has been to freeze non-unionism in the South, leaving unionized New England textile and shoe industries paying a big wage differential. "Here is the great issue which New Englanders will have to face," says the report. "They must decide whether, as federal operations continue to expand, New Englanders should stand idly by while their income is drained off to benefit other areas and should continue to shun federal aid of all kinds."

Notes: Congress will sit all summer. . . . Truce in Korea means few controls, more inflation, whatever the stock market says to the contrary. . . . Week's biggest disappointment was consumers' failure to pressure Congress on inflation controls.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

public libraries to Negroes. The list could be extended at length.

There are those who say the South is not ready, but such voices are a small minority; the majority belies them in their quiet acceptance of each democratic advance. Such counsel betrays little faith in the moral fibre of Southern educators and, in my opinion, is not valid in the face of what has been happening in the past two years.

I believe the decision which the AALS should make is one which provides for the prompt expulsion of any member school which practises segregation based on racial grounds. There is no administrative reason of which I am aware that would justify postponing the effectiveness of a decision of the Association of American Law Schools requiring that segregation be discontinued. In my opinion the threats of secession are merely threats. But even if they should materialize, there is no justification for appeasing a weak, backward segment of the law-school world for the sake of organizational unity at the expense of the long-suffering Negro people, who have officially been on the conscience of this country at least since 1861.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
Director, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
New Orleans, La.

MacArthur's Other Thursday

SIR: Many thanks for printing that letter by Richard W. Hogue. (See Correspondence column, *NR*, June 4.) I had read too much, and sought proof of what I had read, to believe the present denials of that tragic episode. It is with much gratitude that I read the account of an eye witness to the tragedy, and realize that there are those ready to stand up and proclaim the truth, sadly needed these days.

Dunedin, Fla. (Miss) MABEL FROST

The Acheson Row

SIR: Why should Secretary Acheson resign? Because *Life* magazine, Senator McCarthy and Harold L. Ickes think he has lost that "public confidence" which they have a secret means of measuring?

If Secretary Acheson has become a political liability of the Administration, the fault is not his. He has done more than his share in interpreting Administration policy to the people and in pulling its chestnuts out of the fire. It is any Congressman, any appointed official, or any political commentator who cannot argue the Administration's case with reason on his side who is losing public confidence for Acheson. In the end, the public may agree when it is told that Secretary Acheson and the policies he represents must go. But it is now time that the public recognize the Republican movement to create policy vacuums through political homicide, to govern without being elected to govern, to make *displacement* rather than *replacement* its political goal.

Lincoln, Nebr. D. B. WEHRMANN

The Way We Live Now

SIR: Consider the plight of the college teacher. (Who does?) If he has finished his expensive education and has acquired his M.A. and Ph.D., he is undoubtedly earning the munificent income of $3,500 to $4,700, depending on his position in the academic scale. Incidentally, he was unable to deduct any of his graduate-school expenses from his income tax, investment in his own business though they were and burdened by debt though he may be for graduate expenses incurred at a half-dozen years ago. One colleague is supplementing his income by drawing on his savings (made possible by his war service in the Navy); another on his savings made possible by a war-time job in Washington. Nearly all our other colleagues supplement inadequate incomes by consultation posts (if they are economists or engineers), clerking in relatives' stores, summer-school teaching in secondary schools, camp counseloring and various other stints. Our college staff drive second-hand cars (usually hand-downs from more affluent members of their families), live in ramshackle old houses or attic apartments, accept clothing for the children from generous relatives, and endlessly discuss inflation, food costs and rents at academic tea parties. Our rent has increased 30 percent under rent control with nothing to show for it—and despite repeated visits to a sympathetic rent-control board. Our grocery bill has tripled since the war. We buy less clothing, have given up symphony concerts, and have a radio purchased in 1939. The faculty pool their children's shoes and usable clothing and baby sit for one another. With the future for our colleges so bleak, with inflation flattening the college professor's billfold thinner every day, and with the long, expensive doctoral mill ahead of the young man or woman with a teaching vocation, each may well ask himself, "Can I afford to teach?"

Pittsburgh, Pa. DOROTHY GOODFELLOW

[We would appreciate more letters from readers on the way Americans live now. – THE EDITORS]

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New Republic

THE LOBBIES WIN

THE SENATE has voted to increase the cost of living by another six percent or more. The House of Representatives has ordered Price Stabilizer Michael Di Salle to cancel price cuts of about $5 billion which were to have gone into effect on July 2. The failure of Congress to extend and strengthen present controls on prices, rents and production along the lines requested by President Truman will probably force stabilization at much higher levels than was planned by the Administration; inevitably this will lead to another round of wage increases and to inflation of the economy by as much as $12 billion more, experts estimate.

The perpetrators of this "crime against American consumers," as the CIO describes it, were the familiar Republicans and Southern Democrats of the "Dixie-GOP" coalition. As the *New Republic* reported weeks ago, a pact was entered into, early in the discussion on extension of the Defense Production Act, between the cattle, cotton and big farmer interests to kill controls. The series of roll calls in the Senate and the House in the hours preceding the June 30 expiration date of the Act followed the exact lines laid down in that pact. Men from the Cotton South lined up with the representatives of the West and Midwest where the Farm Bureau and the cattle-growers organizations are strong.

So firm and binding was the pact that President Truman's own Senate leaders, when faced with the choice between loyalty to the Administration and deference to the cattle-cotton lobby, voted with his opposition. On a crucial amendment by Paul Douglas to permit the rollback of excessively high prices, the Majority Leader, the Majority Whip and the Chairman of the Committee in charge of the legislation all voted against the President. The hopelessly inadequate Leader, McFarland (Ariz.), and his Whip, Lyndon Johnson (Tex.), listened to the cattlemen. Banking and Currency Committee Chairman Burnet Maybank of South Carolina actively lobbied his Southern colleagues "not to vote against cotton," and to join him in deserting their party. The pressures in this direction, both Senators and Representatives frankly admitted, were the greatest exerted on Congress in many years.

The Southerners were the special targets. When the first test came on the Douglas move to save rollbacks (defeated 61 to 26), four Southerners—Fulbright, Hill, Sparkman and Kefauver—voted on the side of strong controls. By the next day, however, the pressures had mounted so much that when the same issue was posed again in an amendment offered by Wayne Morse, Kefauver was the only Southerner who stood firm for rollbacks. In the House, where the affinity between Southern Democrats and special-interest Republicans has always been most strong, the anti-controls lobbies were able to write a prohibition against price rollbacks into the 30-day extension of the Production Act because 83 of the 116 Democrats who represent the 13 Southern states voted against the Administration.

In the House, as in the Senate, these mass desertions are certainly in part attributable to the attitude of the majority leadership. While Speaker Rayburn has not had the opportunity which Senate Majority Leader McFarland has had to reveal his true sentiments by his votes, there is a general suspicion in the House that neither Rayburn nor Majority Leader John McCormack feels morally bound to die for the cause of strict controls over inflation. Certainly Banking Committee Chairman Spence has received practically no aid or comfort from either of the men who supposedly are the Administration's bulwarks in the lower house. No move has been made by Rayburn and McCormack to rally the Democrats behind the kind of strengthened controls law Truman wants. The Democratic steering committee which was created to function in just such situations as this has not been assembled once in the last six months. House leaders do not even report to Democratic members what the President says to them in the regular Monday strategy meetings at the White House. The resulting disorganization has created ideal working conditions for the special interest lobbies.

Direct responsibility for the chaos on the majority side in Congress lies with McFarland, Johnson, Rayburn and McCormack for either deserting to the enemy or by their example urging surrender instead of attack. At least secondary responsibility, however, reverts to the President himself for tolerating their insubordination without creating means of his own for communicating with those in Congress who honestly support the

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Administration's program for economic stabilization.

The new defense production bill, which has passed the Senate and which the House seems dangerously close to approving in substance, amounts to "a billion dollar medal for profiteers," the Administration says. In addition to making it impossible to reduce present prices to reasonable levels, the bill prescribes a 20-percent increase in rents on that 40 percent of the nation's residences under federal ceilings. Not content with blocking the 10-cent-a-pound meat price cut the OPS had scheduled through future rollbacks, cattle interests pushed through a "black-market" amendment wiping out beef slaughtering quotas. Without them, OPS officials say, any controls on meat will probably be impossible to administer.

Beef prices will be frozen at 35 percent above January, 1950, levels, 25 percent higher than the stabilization level for other prices and wages, if the inequitable Senate bill is finally adopted. A rollback order which would have saved buyers $1 billion on the price of building materials next year will be scrapped in favor of an immediate price increase of $500 million. The Senate formula would prohibit scheduled price reductions of $55 million on low-voltage electrical equipment; the net result would be a $70 million price increase.

Regardless of whether or not an early truce in Korea is achieved, the $60 billion defense program which the US has undertaken for the coming year will go forward. Without tight ceilings on the cost of living and the cost of armament, the economy could easily careen out of control. The President and the organizations and individuals who support his anti-inflation stand have 30 days in which to convince the American people, and through them the Congress, that the forces of inflation stem from far deeper sources than the action in Korea and that the end of the fighting marks no end to our need for controls.

THE COMMUNISTS ACCEPT

THE GLOOMY PREDICTIONS that the Communists in Korea would not even answer General Ridgway's proposal to discuss a cease-fire were wrong. The acceptance came less than 30 hours after the offer had been made.

The proposal that the meeting take place "in the area of Kaesong," a city close to the 38th Parallel, instead of on board the Danish hospital ship Jutlandia, is not surprising. Saving face is important to all Asiatics and perhaps especially to the Asiatic Communists; it would have been really surprising if they had accepted the proposal in its first form, and particularly since the hospital ship would constitute, technically, territory of the UN, from which the Peking Government has been excluded. Negotiating for peace with the despised "Paper Tiger" involves heavy loss of prestige for Mao for which a site in South Korea is poor compensation.

General Ridgway's offer proposed an armistice with "adequate guarantees" that it would be preserved. The Chinese and North Korean commanders, in accepting, added "the establishment of peace." "Peace," they will probably insist, means the restoration of status quo in Korea prior to June 25, 1950. That would be unacceptable to the UN if the UN stands by its established conditions. Of these, the exchange of prisoners on a one for one basis is subject to compromise; the evacuation of all foreign troops the Communists may accept in the hope of evading it. The creation of a demilitarized belt above the 38th Parallel involves heavy loss of prestige for the Communists. The access of UN observers to North Korea may be unacceptable. This last condition was set by the UN because the 38th Parallel is a poor defense line which can be defended only by a prohibitively large number of troops. In the absence of such troops, "adequate guarantees" have come to mean full access to see that Communist forces are not built up again in North Korea. The Chinese will react bitterly against this concession to an organization which includes Chiang Kai-shek in its membership. The Russians are notoriously sensitive in keeping all observers from their border areas. For these reasons in Korea as in Germany and Japan there is likely to be an armistice but no formal peace settlement.

Peace in Korea could be a disaster for the entire democratic world. This could happen if we went back to sleep, once the fighting had stopped. The Communists have lost a salient, but they have not abandoned the struggle to advance their system, which is worldwide, uses every possible means, and is measured by them in decades rather than in years. The other danger spots—Iran, Yugoslavia, Berlin, to name only three—will remain as serious as ever. Our Congress is balking at vital legislation for controls, rearmament and foreign aid. Its mood changes by the minute with sudden news, and good news in Korea may cause it to slash foreign aid. On these terms, victory in Korea would amount to worldwide defeat. If and when a Korean peace is achieved, it is up to us to prove that their cynicism regarding our staying power is unjustified.

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THE WEEK

BROYLES BILL VETO

CHICAGO, ILL. (NR corresp.)

Gov. Adlai Stevenson has vetoed the Broyles bill, a measure which would have sent a secret "anti-subversive squad" marching across Illinois.

In a strongly worded message, the Governor attacked the bill that passed both House and Senate by votes of more than two to one. Broyles hinted a fight.

Designed after the Maryland Ober law, the bill also provided for fines up to $20,000 and imprisonment from one to 20 years for "contributing to the support of any subversive organization," and a definition of "subversive" open to the imagination of the handiest "squad" member.

Chief among the sponsors of the measure was the American Legion, in which State Sen. Paul Broyles is an active member. Broyles introduced the bill after failing to prove charges of subversion against the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College.

BATTLE WITH BALLOTS

ATLANTA, GA. (NR corresp.)

For the first time in 20 years, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its annual convention south of the Mason-Dixon Line. The 750 delegates attending the forty-second convention at Atlanta met with a single purpose: to use the estimated two million Negroes who by 1956 will be registered voters in the South as a means of accomplishing the long-overdue civil-rights measures on local, state and national levels.

The NAACP annual report—"Civil Rights at Mid-Century"—gave an encouraging summary of the progress during 1950, primarily due to the organization's effective legal staff. The Supreme Court rulings, ordering the admission of Negroes to law school at the University of Texas and ordering the University of Oklahoma to cease segregating graduate students, have "undermined the entire legal structure of segregation." Approximately 1,000 Negro students are now attending Southern colleges and universities from which they had previously been barred.

Other advances in 1950 were the inclusion of domestic workers (more than 1.5 million of whom are Negroes) in the Social Security Act, the breakdown of segregation in public recreational facilities in Miami, Fla., Baltimore, Md., and Washington, D. C., and the integration of Negroes in the Air Force and the Navy. The NAACP delegates heard Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington NAACP office, call for complete implementation of the non-segregation policy in the Army, the only branch slow to follow the President's Executive Order. Charging that Southerners in Congress have used their power over military appropriations to prevent integration, Mitchell said that it was time to use "our voting strength to see that the Southern Representatives and Senators stopped bullying the Army around on this subject."

Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP's chief counsel, who recently investigated the Negro courts-martial in Korea, pointed out that in the Far East, "The Navy and Air Force integrated Negroes without exception. The refusal of General MacArthur to do so in the Army can only be explained by the fact that he was determined to maintain segregation. There is no other explanation."

The organization's 40 attorneys attending the convention discussed plans for legal action aimed at admission of Negroes to white public schools. They listed theaters, restaurants and hotels among places of public accommodation which call for legal action against discrimination. In Washington, D. C., a far-reaching decision was handed down by the Municipal Court of Appeals on May 24, declaring that the civil-rights law of 1873 forbidding racial discrimination in restaurants, barrooms and soda fountains is valid and enforceable. The law holds that no such place of public accommodation can deny service to any "well-behaved" citizen solely on the ground of his color. The case is now on appeal.

The fruits of this kind of political action by Negroes could be plainly seen in Atlanta itself. Delegates from the North were astonished at the courtesies extended by city authorities. They had a warm welcoming address by Mayor William Hartsfield; enforcement of segregation ordinances was suspended for the convention proceedings in the auditorium. On the last day, delegates, along with thousands of Atlantans, heard Dr. Ralph Bunche give the convention international meaning.

THE SDA TAKES A STAND

Military service, civil liberties and segregation were more than academic issues at the annual convention of Students for Democratic Action, the youthful affiliate of the ADA which met at Berea College recently. Delegates representing the organization's 2,000 members in 65 college chapters took uncompromising stands on a number of hotly disputed questions, among them a resolution calling upon the Supreme Court to review its decision upholding the Smith Act. Members active in fighting loyalty oaths at the Universities of California and Oklahoma stressed that all symptoms of political hysteria must be fought.

The SDA, which prides itself on being the largest student political organization in the country, also called for reform of the student draft-deferment policy through the establishment of a Federal Scholarship Fund which would assist able young people to continue education they otherwise could not afford. And it advocated a strong racial-equality policy saying: "We believe that federal programs providing for public housing, health and education must contain provisions prohibiting segregation and discrimination.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

FRANCE AND ITALY

The French national election hurt Moscow even more than did the Italian local elections. It was a worse setback for the Kremlin's effective political power and prestige within the European area of the Atlantic Community. Whereas the Italian Communists and their Socialist allies lost control of many cities but nevertheless gained in popular voting strength, the French Communists lost both seats in the National Assembly and votes—more than a fifth of the previous total of some 5.5 million.

On the other hand, the result in France was a far greater and more serious swing toward the political Right than in Italy. The forces which the French call "the classic Right" emerged with more power than in any "consultation of the people" since the "horizon blue" nationalist victory in the election immediately after World War I. The French democratic forces may be able to govern without the running fight with the Communists that has weakened and slowed the National Assembly's activities since the end of World War II. But they will have to pay a much greater price in concessions to the Right. The rise of the Italian neo-Fascist MSI —Italian Social Movement—is trifling compared with the upsurge of the French Right—not only Gen. Charles de Gaulle's Rally of the French People, but also the PRL—Independent Republicans and Peasants.

About a month before the election, de Gaulle decided against presenting himself as a candidate. His explanation was that "a general does not head a commando." The point was that it was already clear that though the Rally might become the largest party in the Assembly (as it has), it had little clear chance for an absolute majority. Even with the help of the PRL and other Rightists, de Gaullists do in fact fall short of that majority. The assumption, therefore, is that de Gaulle will wait outside the Assembly until his "commando" inside it harries the opposition into submission; and that then—and only then—he will consent to take over command as the generalissimo.

Most of the French newspapers (with the exception, of course, of the Communists and Gaullists) hail the result of the election as a victory for the moderates, the center or the Third (or Fourth) Force. The English are cooler and more objective in their judgment. The London *Times*, for example, made the following statement:

> Nearly half the French electorate have shown that they have little confidence in parliamentary government as practised under the Fourth Republic, but put their faith rather in authoritarian systems either of the Right or of the Left. So far from winning a sufficient majority in the Assembly to allow a change of government within the system, the parties of the Third Force will now be compelled to cling together still more closely to maintain a government. Even so, they will be dependent upon the votes of the Right Wing. . . . For the moment, at least, it seems as though France may enter a period of still greater uncertainty, with a Third Force government looking uneasily over its shoulder at Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

The hard fact to be faced both in France and in Italy, moreover, is that the technical results of the elections—the number of Assembly seats or administrative machines won or lost—do not correspond with the popular results, the actual apportionment of the votes. The system of "affiliation" used in both countries has multiplied (and also falsified) the power of the Third Force combinations. But in France, the Communists lost only about half a million votes while de Gaulle's RPF and the Rightist PRL won most of their votes—a total of more than six million—from the moderate, democratic parties. And in Italy, as the *Monde* of Paris points out, the "political geography" of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate no longer corresponds with that of the electorate. Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party holds 306 of the 574 seats in the Chamber; while in the two rounds of provincial elections and in the Sicilian voting, this party lost 835,000 votes, the Communists gained 258,000 and the neo-Fascists gained 387,000.

One of the significant differences between the two countries is that, whereas in France the Right gained much strength from the farmers' vote, in Italy the Communists made gains among the peasants of the agricultural South and in Sicily. The reason is quite simple: in France, the farmers own land—indeed, their forefathers have owned land since the Revolution more than a century and a half ago—and they want to keep on owning it; while in Italy, the peasants own no land in the feudal South and, having been disappointed again and again by the party in power since the end of the war—de Gasperi's, are willing to listen to the party bidding for power—Palmiro Togliatti's.

In general, the measures taken in France for social and economic justice, though very far from adequate (and nothing like those of the British Welfare State), are wonderful compared with those talked about but not taken in Italy. The Manchester *Guardian* comments on the Communist gains which have been made in Italy:

> The lesson of the polls, both for the Italian Government and for Italy's allies, is plain: that nothing will be solved politically without social and economic progress. In theory the principle is a platitude; in practice, it has yet to be seriously applied. . . . The Italian Government has many bulls to deal with, but it could take them more bravely by the horns. . . . It is evident that Italy's problems will have to be tackled more energetically in the near future by all than they have been in the past.

The Paris *Franc-Tireur* writes:

> The Italian workers did not vote against the Atlantic policy. They voted above all against a social regime synonymous with poverty and against a Christian Democratic Party which is noted in Italy for its conservatism.

As against these liberal British and French interpretations, the New York *Times* says, on the authority of what it calls "Roman circles," that the Communist strength:

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Proved . . . that Communist propaganda and political organization successfully offset the anti-Communist drive of all other parties. . . . This result was all the more disturbing because since 1948 Italian economic conditions had definitely improved, largely because of Marshall Plan aid.

What is in fact disturbing is that the propaganda value, on behalf of democracy, of ECA aid could not be used because the benefits were neither well enough nor widely enough distributed among the people of Italy. The third and final round of the Italian elections, to cover a large part of the South of the country, will not be held until next autumn.

There is still enough time for an American policy guided by Italian realities and not by any version of "Roman circles." Otherwise—if the Italian authorities are not prompted toward land reform and other *realities* of social and economic progress—the victory against Moscow on the scaffold of administrative control will have too little base in popular support.

In France, the problem of strengthening the appeal of democracy to the people themselves is political as well as economic. The price which the Right makes the Third Force pay will grow greater in proportion as American policy brushes aside questions of the Right or the Left, of democracy or dictatorship, and shows a willingness to settle for military strength *alone*. But behind any French strength within the European area of the Atlantic Community lies the Communist threat—still a clear and present danger, though smaller by a half-million votes. If France is to be dependably strong, the Right cannot grow at the expense of the democratic forces.

De Gaulle's "commando" in the Assembly is dangerous in proportion as it builds up the huge potential Communist "fifth column" in the country. And it may do just that if American policy does not quickly and strongly recognize the need of every possible help for the democratic Third Force, both against the "commando" and the "column."

Paris PERCY WINNER

HUNGRY CHILDREN

In these prosperous times, it is hard to realize that vast numbers of school children went without lunches during the last school term.

The plight of the school children in Charlotte, N. C., has focused national attention on the present inadequacies of state and federal school-lunch programs and the inaction of Congress to correct the situation. Last February, school superintendent E. H. Garinger surprised most of the population by pointing out that some 300 children in the city's schools could not afford to buy lunch and apparently could not bring food from home. A report from the teachers revealed 761 students, over half of them Negroes, who were in that condition.

The CIO's state headquarters wrote to North Carolina Congressmen:

> The summer vacation just beginning is more than a vacation from school for hundreds—perhaps thousands—of North Carolina children. These are the school children of our state who have sat through many, many school days with empty stomachs. For them I hope it is a vacation from hunger.

One of the basic reasons that there have been hungry school children in Charlotte and other Southern communities is that the federal appropriation for the school-lunch program has remained the same for several years, despite the higher cost of food and the increase in the number of school-age children. In North Carolina, the federal grant is being spread over more and more schools to the point that the rate of assistance per meal has, in the past year, dropped from nine cents to as low as four cents in some schools. Despite the rising cost of food the federal grant for the school-lunch program has remained $83.5 million for the last three years.

In addition, the cost of living has increased to the extent that many families simply cannot afford to give children lunch money. A dollar a week to provide lunches for a child sounds small, but in families where there are three school children, $12 a month is more than poorer families can afford.

The school-lunch program is financed as a part of the Department of Agriculture's annual appropriation. Sen. Richard Russell (D, Ga.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, has ignored the protests of labor and civic groups which are anxious to correct the lunch problem before school starts again in the fall. Russell has not as yet called one meeting of his subcommittee.

KEM AND COMMUNISM

The Administration has acted courageously in invoking the escape clause which will temporarily nullify the disastrous effects of the "know nothing" Kem amendment, designed to cut off US aid to any country trading materials with the Communist bloc. President Truman has announced that the National Security Council will set aside the direction as it regards Austria and Norway, two countries which must necessarily engage in extensive trade with Communist countries.

The amendment is another instance of Republicans in Congress meddling in a highly complex problem in an effort to embarrass the Administration. If the amendment were applied, the US would run the risk of causing many of our Allies serious economic difficulties. For the advantages of trade with the East are often high to West European countries which cannot get scarce materials elsewhere. If the Administration continues to reject the Kem rule, it can expect Joe McCarthy to shout that the Democrats gave the Kremlin machine guns which killed American boys.

But in this case valor may be the better part of wisdom. Nothing can lose our Allies quicker than resorting to the kind of international bossism blueprinted in the Kem measure. Already sensitive over US dominance of the Western alliance, our friends will cringe under the unilateral directives issued by isolation-minded Senators. Nothing will help shrewd "neutralists" of the Bevan type more than such domineering gestures which belie the US claim to be the democratic leader of democracies. In the dry words of the National Security Council, it would "call our own reliability into question and threaten both the will and the capacity of our associates."

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UMT—WHERE DO WE STAND?

by Thomas R. Phillips

THE Universal Military Training and Service Act, which was signed by President Truman, June 19, is a compromise which will satisfy no one. Those who do not believe in universal military training regret that it is en route to enactment. Those who favor military training fear that it may never pass since additional legislation is required to put it into effect. The two-year period of military service which is authorized until July 1, 1955, will not provide enough men to maintain the armed forces at their present strength unless further calls are made on the National Guard and reserves.

The Act is General Marshall's baby. It contains long-range provisions for universal military training and short-range provisions for universal service to meet the present emergency. Sentiment in the Pentagon inclines to the view that a short term of universal training is an obsolete conception; it would increase the mobilization potential at the expense of forces in readiness. The planners cannot foresee any diminution of our need for large forces in readiness in view of continuing world tension and our commitments under the North Atlantic Treaty.

Universal military training is to be conducted in a National Security Training Corps, under the supervision of a National Security Training Commission, consisting of three civilians and two active or retired members of the regular services. Not later than four months after its appointment, the National Security Training Commission is required to make recommendations to Congress with respect to a code of conduct, disability and death benefits, and measures for health, welfare and morals. The proposed legislation is granted a privileged parliamentary status and may be called up for disposition by any member of Congress.

Pay is provided at the rate of $30 a month, and dependency benefits will amount to $107.50 for one or two dependents and $125 for more than two dependents. Provision is made for a gradual shift from universal service to universal military training at such time as men under 19 are no longer needed to maintain the strength of the armed forces. The determination may be made either by the President or by a concurrent resolution of Congress.

Mental and physical standards are lowered, physical standards to those prevailing in January, 1945, when the services were scraping the bottom of the manpower barrel. The mental standards are the Armed Forces Classification score of 65 instead of the previous 70. The change in standards is expected to make about 400,000 men, now classified as 4-F, immediately available for induction and should make an additional 100,000 men available from each annual class.

Deferments are reduced, but still do not meet the definition of universal; they remain selective. Married men without children are no longer deferred except in cases of extreme hardship. Provisions for deferment for reasons of national health and interest are retained. In December, 1950, 87,000 were deferred to remain in agriculture and 69,000 for other reasons. High-school students are deferred until the completion of their course or until they reach the age of 20. These deferments are estimated to be 105,000 in the first annual class. College students are deferred until the end of their current term. Provision is made for deferment of 75,000 college students until college enrolment becomes normal after two years of operations under the Act.

The two years of required service will not maintain the present strength of 3.5 million in the armed forces. The most that can be obtained by voluntary enlistment is 1.5 million. This leaves two million to be obtained by universal service. At the present time the difference is accounted for by selective service, by the pool of men who were too young to serve in the last war and by the use of approximately 800,000 National Guardsmen and reservists, who are required to serve for two years.

The number of men becoming 18 years and six months of age each year is approximately 1.05 million. Of these, 200,000 will be unqualified by mental or physical standards; 70,000 are already in service; 30,000 are expected to have dependency or occupational deferments, and 105,000 are qualified but deferred pending completion of high school. This leaves 645,000 available for induction the first year. Ultimately the high-school deferments will become available so that the annual availability will amount to 750,000. With two years of service, universal service will thus be able to supply 1.5 million men instead of the requirement of 2 million. To maintain the present strength of the armed forces, either the period of service must be increased or further calls must be made on the National Guard and reserves.

This poses a serious question which was inadequately

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considered by the Senate Committee on Armed Services in its 1,243 pages of hearings. The majority of the National Guardsmen and reservists are veterans who have had from two to six years of service and have already had their careers interrupted by one war. They now are faced with a further interruption due to the fear of Congress to require service of non-veterans long enough to maintain the strength of the armed forces. Approximately three years of service would be required unless there is further imposition on veterans who had the patriotism to maintain a military connection in the reserve system. It is true that these men accepted an obligation, but they felt that it was for a great national emergency and not for service in a cold war.

The plight of the volunteer and inactive reserves who were receiving neither training nor compensation on inactive status and who have been called into service is inadequately handled. They are required to be discharged upon their application after 17 months of service. It is difficult to understand why they should be retained any longer than is required to replace them by larger calls from selective service.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Act is the provision requiring a total of active and reserve service of eight years. This will eventually build a reserve of between four and five million men. But there is no reserve system in existence into which this tremendous (and expensive) reserve force can be fitted. The National Guard had difficulty managing 350,000 men, and the Army and Air Force Organized Reserves have been notorious for their failure to function.

The Defense Department has promised to submit to Congress within six months the legislation to establish a reserve system to cope with the problem. In 1948, one such effort was made by the board headed by former Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray. The board recommended a single reserve system, but its recommendations were overwhelmed by the political power of the National Guard which foresaw the loss of its vested interests in the 50 state armies now maintained by the Federal Government.

The new reserve proposals, if they are to meet our needs, must eliminate the National Guard as a federal force. Once again it will run into the powerful political opposition of the National Guard. Perhaps the Guard can be persuaded to become the state force it was originally. States no longer need the militia to go out after marauding Indians, but all states should now be preparing for their own air defense. There is room in our defense picture for a home air-defense force of anti-aircraft artillery and warning units of at least a half-million men and women. This could be composed of over-age and physically unfit men. It would require federal support to provide the equipment. Perhaps the National Guard could be persuaded to make a gradual change in status which would return it to the functions for which the militia was originally designed.

If the Universal Military Training features of the Act were to go into effect, they would cause an actual reduction in the strength of the armed forces. The training and administrative overhead would amount to between 150,000 and 200,000 men. These would have to come from existing volunteer forces which cannot be maintained in greater strength than 1.5 million.

It seems unlikely that the universal-military-training features of the Act as now written will ever come into force. It would have fitted our situation before the last two wars. Six-months training covers only individual training and does not get into the much more complicated problems of military team training. It has been found that it takes from seven to nine months to complete the training of the National Guard after it has been called into active service. Six-month trainees covered into the National Guard or similar reserve organizations would still require this long period of further training when called into service. Universal military service, therefore, will not increase our forces in readiness. It increases our mobilization potential. Today a million men in readiness are more valuable than five million who cannot be used for nine months or a year.

Our present National Guard and reserve systems make a fair, partial mobilization impossible. Why should six National Guard divisions be in service while 20 remain at home? An appropriate reserve system would provide for organizations composed of men mostly from a single year class. If a partial mobilization were required, as at the present, the organizations called would be those containing the youngest men and the most recently trained. But this will mean a complete and radical overhaul of our present hodge-podge of seven or eight separate reserve systems in the five elements of the armed forces.

It would be a tragedy to take federally trained men, either of two years' or six months' service, and to place them in the present reserve scheme. It would amount to forced recruitment for the National Guard and reserves. Such training as they would have received would deteriorate. We would be faced with an enormously expensive system which would gain perhaps only two or three months in time over the induction of entirely untrained men.

It will be interesting to see whether the Defense Department and the Congress will have the courage to establish a genuine military reserve system which can meet our needs in the uncertain times ahead.

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HOW TO MAKE A MILLION

by Jean Begeman

IF YOU HAVE $600, a few acres of land, and the blueprints for a steel plant, there is a way you can make a million within the next five years. Just ask H. B. McCoy, chief of the Industry Operations Bureau of the National Production Authority, for a "certificate of necessity" for $7.8 million to cover the cost of the proposed steel mill. You won't be the first one to try this get-rich-quick scheme in the name of national defense. But the chances of your success are not as good today as they were two months ago—before an alert Congressional committee turned the spotlight on the NPA's lending policy.

In one of the most incredible cases of attempted "legal profiteering" to come out of the government's multi-billion-dollar loan program under the Defense Production Act, three promoters—Benjamin S. Dowd, Martin G. Charles and James H. Hopkins—formed the Hazelton Steel & Tubing Corporation last fall with authorized capital stock of 1,000 shares of $1 par value common stock and paid-in capital of $600. A civic-improvement group donated an abandoned race track for the proposed plant site. Application for the $7.8 million loan was filed November 15.

Although the Iron and Steel Division of the NPA recommended against the loan, McCoy forwarded a favorable report on January 26. The RFC, the DPA's fiscal agent, had meanwhile filed an adverse report on the Hazelton project. When NPA Assistant Administrator Frank Creedon and several others met to consider the application, they decided to condition the loan upon the payment of $1 million "private capital" by the applicants.

On February 2, E. T. Gibson, the certifying officer of the DPA, approved the loan. In March, Gen. William Harrison, DPA administrator, held up disbursement and appointed a committee to review it. The following month the committee handed a favorable report to Harrison, despite the fact that Dowd and his associates asked that their back salaries of $65,000, and *all promotional expenses*, be taken out of the loan.

The pipe and tube dream of the three promoters might have come true had not the House Subcommittee on Government Operations opened its own investigation. Headed by Rep. Porter Hardy (D, Va.), the committee, after studying the Hazelton Steel & Tubing Corporation, the Green River Steel Corporation and the Lone Star Steel Company, charged that "the certificate-of-necessity program is the biggest bonanza that ever came down the government pike."

In the first five months of the program, certificates were issued for $5 million worth of plants (compared with $7.3 billion for the entire World War II period). The committee found accelerated tax amortization (see *NR*, June 4) a major factor in the inflation spiral and expanded its inquiry to include direct government loans authorized by Section 302 of the Defense Production Act. DPA certificates of necessity permit companies to write off the cost of a new plant over a five-year period instead of over the usual 20- to 25-year period. If a company constructed a facility costing $100,000, it would normally be allowed a deduction for tax-return purposes of about $4,000 a year until the facility was fully depreciated. Under the certificate-of-necessity program, the company would be permitted to deduct $20,000 each year for the next five years while normal and excess-profits tax rates will probably be high and company profits exceptionally good. The committee questioned this policy: "Loans made under Section 302 involved direct borrowing from the US Treasury and are, therefore, highly inflationary . . . they should be made only as a *last resort* where the need for the facility is so great as to warrant the inflationary effect of the loans."

The committee charged that the loan to Hazelton Steel—the very first to be approved by Gibson—is clearly not in the public interest: "The government has afforded three promoters, with $600 at stake, an opportunity to become millionaires in the next few years; if the venture fails—and all concerned admit it to be a risky proposition—the defense program will have suffered through a waste of needed materials and manpower."

During the Hazelton loan investigation, the committee called Harvey M. Harper, head of the NPA Loan Division, to testify. Harper had prepared the favorable recommendation on Hazelton. It is interesting to note that Harper was hired by the War Production Board in 1943 at a salary of about $4,800. After 10 months with the WPB, he was hired by Tube-Turns, a Kentucky steel fabrication corporation, as its Washington representative at $9,000 a year. By 1945, Harper was making $10,000 plus expenses, which ran from $1,500 to $2,400 a month and included an apartment at the Mayflower Hotel. When Harper was asked why he favored granting Hazelton Steel a loan, he replied: "This was small business." To which Rep. George Meader

This is one in a series of articles on "Our $ Patriots" and how they are profiteering on the national defense program.

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(R, Mich.) quickly returned: "Rather nonexistent!"

After releasing its stinging report on Hazelton, the committee called Gibson back for further questioning. Gibson admitted to the committee that he had received a belated report that was extremely critical of the Hazelton management. Benjamin Dowd, one of the three promoters, was formerly president of the Empire Ordnance Works, one of the most investigated companies during World War II. In 1940, Dowd and his partner Frank Cohen organized Empire and contracted to sell 75-millimeter guns to Great Britain. President Roosevelt, in 1942, asked the Securities and Exchange Commission to investigate Empire. The SEC found the company's management so questionable that Dowd was forced to sever his connection. After the war, Dowd and Cohen gained control of the Vulcan Iron Works, Wilkesbarre, Pa., but were again forced out by a group of Chicago stockholders. Faced with these facts and others brought out by the committee, Gibson announced that the proposed loan to Hazelton had been officially canceled. Last week, Dowd was back at the RFC investigating the possibility of starting the Hazelton project all over again.

The case of the Lone Star Steel Company, while a far more legitimate project than Hazelton, is still typical of unwarranted tax write-offs under the certificate-of-necessity program. A plant to produce pig iron was built at Dangerfield, Texas, by the Defense Plant Corporation during the last war at a cost of over $30 million. The facilities were purchased by Lone Star from the War Assets Administration in 1946 when the plant was still new. In 1948, Lone Star proposed to add steel-mill facilities that would produce oil-field pipe, casing and rods. In January, 1949, Lone Star applied to the RFC for a $74.1 million loan; the RFC approved a loan of $34 million conditioned upon Lone Star's furnishing $22 million in equity capital. Although the stockholders, many of them wealthy men, had until January 15, 1951, to put up the $22 million, the equity capital was not furnished. Instead, Lone Star simply applied for a defense loan of $73.4 million and a certificate of necessity to cover its proposed expansion. The NPA reported favorably on the application and ultimately granted a certificate for 85-percent amortization.

Frank Williams, RFC Washington loan examiner, told the committee that under the certificate-of-necessity program Lone Star could charge off on the loan each year for five years $14.6 million of an estimated income of $18.5 million. "The RFC estimated the net income at $9.7 million," the report pointed out. "If the RFC estimate is correct, the company would pay no income tax at all." A compromise was finally reached whereby the RFC gave Lone Star a $50 million loan conditioned upon the borrower's obtaining $23.4 million from the DPA, raising $5 million equity capital and obtaining from other sources $4 million working capital.

Early last month, the SEC announced that it had approved a stock registration for the Green River Steel Corporation of Owensboro, Ky. Green River was organized last fall by two lawyers and a retired steel executive who found six investment firms to help finance the deal. The three men—Sidney Williams, formerly connected with the Carnegie Steel Company, Crucible Steel Company, Timken Roller Bearing and Copperweld Steel Company, and law partners, Robert Hensley and Frank Logan—and the six firms purchased 342,500 shares of 25-cent-par-value common stock. With only $85,625 of their own capital to risk, they applied for a $3.5 million first-mortgage loan from the RFC and another $5 million loan from the NPA. Because the proposed steel plant would be dependent on scrap metal, now in tight supply, the NPA Iron and Steel Division recommended against making a loan. However, Creedon's office received a report from McCoy's staff to the effect that alloy steels are in great demand and that Green River would produce such products. The NPA and the RFC approved the $8.5 million of loans conditioned upon the borrowers' raising $4 million working capital. By sale of bonds and common stock the Green River backers will undoubtedly meet the $4 million obligation, and the government will disburse the loan.

While the Hardy committee found the Green River proposal more desirable than Hazelton, the report strongly urged that government lending agencies "make no further loans to promoters with little or no personal financial risk in the venture."

Certainly there is need today for the granting of accelerated tax amortization as an "incentive" to private capital to build defense plants. The committee points out:

> Yet in each of the three loan cases, certificates of necessity were granted to cover the full amount borrowed from the government. . . . What opportunity is accorded others in the steel industry, possibly existing small but reliable organizations, to fill the need for tubular steel facilities? The only conclusion to be drawn from the facts is that the provisions of Section 302 were both an open invitation to an application of this kind and a license to the government administrators to approve it.

Calling on the government to review its existing lending policy, especially where the facilities built with government loans constitute the principal security for the loan, the Hardy committee justly asserts: "Such a fantastic deal as Hazelton would cause the man on the street to ask why his taxes are being used to give any three as against 150 million others a chance to become millionaires. We would find it hard to give him an answer."

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WE MENACE THE PANAMA CANAL

by Harry Conn

EMILE BENJAMIN, skilled carpenter, is employed by the United States Government in the Panama Canal Zone to teach carpentry. Though not an American, he must abide by American laws and customs that rule the 10-mile stretch across the Isthmus.

Benjamin is a Negro and teaches in a segregated high school. Segregation of blacks and whites is one of the American customs brought to the Canal Zone when racial segregation and discrimination were unknown. Benjamin cannot venture into the better hotels and restaurants in the Zone—they are reserved for the whites. He needs more money on which to live so he also teaches at night school. Here, several of his students are white Americans and on the day they complete his course and are hired as carpenters in the Zone, they will be making three, four or five times as much as their instructor.

Emile Benjamin is one of the 15,110 non-United States citizens employed in the Canal Zone, who live as aliens in their own country. Fortunately for America, Benjamin has not been lured toward Communism, and neither have most of his fellow workers. Yet today, the Panama Canal, strategic artery of America's defense, is an area alarmingly fertile for Communist impregnation. And the American administration of the Canal Zone, in the mode of Nineteenth Century colonialism, has made this possible.

In the mind of the native Canal-Zone worker, America and American democracy do not stand for basic freedom for all citizens. America means to them low wages, high living costs, discrimination and segregation. Miraculously, in such an atmosphere, no native leader espousing the cause against America has risen. This is due, at least in part, to the fact that one of the foremost native leaders in the Zone, Edward A. Gaskin, has been tirelessly fighting for Zone workers and just as tirelessly preaching the true principles of American democracy.

A Negro, short and stocky, 33-year-old Gaskin is a principal of an elementary school in the Zone and president of Local 900 of the CIO's Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, to which a majority of the Zone workers belong. He led the fight several years ago to organize this union in opposition to the United Public Workers, eventually expelled from the CIO under charges of Communist domination. That successful battle, so completely ignored by the American press, is believed to have removed a genuine threat to the Canal.

Gaskin is visiting the United States. He sits on the edge of his chair and with pleading eyes presents a picture of injustice with an eloquence rarely heard today. Gaskin refers to 1903 when the United States leased the Canal Zone from the Republic of Panama in perpetuity and amazed the world by building the "Big Ditch." As part of a "gentlemen's agreement" with Great Britain the US developed a Caribbean Wage Scale under which the workers in the Caribbean countries were paid approximately what they would receive in surrounding areas. This was deemed necessary in order not to upset the economies of these countries. So, two pay scales were established in the Zone, a local rate and a US rate. Today the average local-rate pay is 55 cents an hour compared to the American rate of $2.15, a fantastic spread.

The Caribbean Wage Scale did not work extreme hardship in countries such as Costa Rica, Colombia, Jamaica and Trinidad where the cost of living was low. This was also true of Panama in 1903 when the Panamanian Balboa was worth five times the American dollar. But today the two currencies are used interchangeably. Prices in the Zone are at least as high as in the United States, and it costs as much for a Panamanian to live as for an American. Milk is 27 cents a quart in Panama today; eggs are 82 cents a dozen, and other prices are comparable down the line. Their Jim-Crow housing, almost all lacking modern plumbing, stands in startling contrast to the clean and modern quarters of the American workers.

Before the arrival of the Americans at the turn of the century segregation and racial discrimination were unknown practices to Panamanians. It is forever brought home that these are strictly American importations because when Panamanians leave the Zone, even to cross the street to Colon, in the Republic, they leave segregation behind.

The Panama Canal Zone is the show window of democracy for all Latin America to witness. The sight has not been a pretty one for the many dark-skinned peoples of these countries to the south. The many citizens of Costa Rica, of Colombia, of Salvador who have contracted to work on the Canal in the last half century have returned to their lands with stinging words about the American system which metes out countless in-

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justices to a man because he is of a darker race. Today Americans wonder why these people have no real heart for Pan Americanism.

The feelings of the people of Panama were vividly shown last November 3 when the Republic celebrated its Independence Day. School children, carrying the many flags of the United Nations as they marched, received warm applause. When an American veterans group from the Zone paraded with the Stars and Stripes they were greeted by a sickening silence. An editorial last January in the Panama *Tribune*, a respected weekly, put this silence into words:

> The administrative powers—the Bourbons—of the Canal Zone seem to have learned nothing about the changes in the world today; nothing of the advancing concepts among mankind, of new religious tolerance, of new understandings, of new social give and take. Nor do they seem to have forgotten anything they learned about the fallacy of human superiority and inferiority.
>
> Because a policy has been in effect over "a number of years" it is not necessarily justifiable in principle in the light of changing conditions. The results cannot be said to be "good" when they are a cause of constant grievance and complaint. It would seem that in the forward march of the world's teeming millions, our friends in the Canal Zone are not only standing still, but feel that everyone in the parade is out of step but they.

This is the charge against the United States at a time when this country has undertaken to defend freedom, truth and the rights of man throughout the world against those who would destroy it. Apparently, though, it has little concerned the Governor of the Zone, Brig. Gen. Francis K. Newcomer, who told the Hoover Commission in 1949: "The organizational position of the Panama Canal has been satisfactory, and it is doubtful if it can be improved upon."

The State Department is apparently well aware of the seriousness of the Canal-Zone problem. It was the American Ambassador, Monnet B. Davis, who sent Gaskins to the United States to study democratic trade-union practices, well knowing that he would also strive to reach the right people and present his case. However, the hands of the State Department are tied. Action must be taken by the Defense Department which has steadfastly refused to alter present patterns in the Zone fundamentally. As regularly as Local 900 of the CIO-GCEOC offers Governor Newcomer detailed recommendations for changes they are rejected. The most recent rejection was accompanied by the statement that "It is believed that this [wage] policy has been fully justified, both in principle and results, over a long period of years."

In September, Ed Gaskins will return to his native Panama and to his job in the segregated school system in the Canal Zone. His hope is that he can offer proof to his young, dark-skinned students that the benefits of a democracy are for them, too. "If we cannot do this," he said, "we cannot be responsible for the future of the Panama Canal or the security of the United States."

THE ATLANTIC CURTAIN

by Michael Curtis

NOT LONG AGO my wife and I invited an American girl home to meet an old friend of ours who is fairly typical of the leftist intellectual in Europe today. Godfrey is an old Etonian and an enthusiastic Laborite. Patricia is a graduate of Wellesley and is a loyal Fair Dealer. Politically these two had much in common. Yet through the evening there ran a subtle undercurrent of tension.

The discussion ranged from MacArthur to the Marshall Plan, from culture to Coca-Cola. There was nothing unusual about it. Any American who visits Europe will run up against the kind of sentiments that Patricia did.

"Ah, yes—but the trouble with Americans is that they are so materialistic. The dollar is their only god. . . .

"Just *how* disinterested was the Marshall Plan? Isn't it true that the United States supported the Nationalist movements in the Far East after the war only because she hoped to obtain valuable commercial concessions . . . ?

"Isn't it only rearmament that has saved American capitalism from another slump? Would there be quite so much talk about a 'preventive' war if New York or Washington had been bombed like London . . . ?

"How can the Americans expect us to be enthusiastic about arming ourselves against Russia when we know that the first atom bomb would fall on our fields and our homes . . . ?

"When will the Americans realize that the fervent patriotism which bled France white in the First World War (and which in the second almost exhausted the resources of the British Empire) has gone forever . . . ?

"It is all very well to call for new sacrifices, but Europe's living standards are still well below the prewar level. After 12 years of austerity how can you expect us to turn the screws still tighter . . . ?"

My Etonian friend did not put it quite as bluntly as

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this. But his approach was certainly colored by this kind of attitude. He is very far from being a Communist or a fellow traveler. If you asked him quite simply which side he was on, the answer would never be in doubt. In fact when our American guest suggested to him, quite seriously, that when it came to the point the British would try to remain neutral next time, he was genuinely and indignantly shocked.

Even so, there are thousands like my friend in England, still more in France and Italy. At present they are reluctant allies, reluctant to accept the challenge imposed by Russian Communism and even more reluctant to accept the fact that only American leadership is capable of meeting it.

Our conversation illustrated what a wide potential of misunderstanding there is between American liberals and their opposite numbers in Europe. However critical Americans may be of their own institutions, very few accept the defeatist, Marxist view that capitalism is bound ultimately to destroy itself. Yet, in Europe there exists a very powerful opinion-forming group which takes this for granted. These people have never studied the evolutionary nature of American capitalism. They refuse to believe that capitalism is *capable* of adaptation.

British Socialists, for example, would hate to admit that at least two items of labor policy, the Anti-Monopoly Commission and Morrison's Mutual Aid Program, stem directly from American political practice. Recently they have been looking round for some way of taxing capital, as well as income, in order to finance rearmament. To many Socialists it came as a complete surprise to discover that the Americans had been operating a capital-gains tax for years!

As for the trade unions, it is only since Averell Harriman and Sir Stafford Cripps hit upon the idea of joint "productivity teams" that European labor leaders have begun to realize that the best way of obtaining higher wages is to get rid of the old restrictive outlook and campaign for more efficient working methods. The idea of teaching the employer his own job is a novel one. No British trade union is equipped to deal with it yet. But thanks to Mr. Harriman a few individuals are beginning to get the right idea.

One of the reasons for anti-American prejudice in Europe today is the almost universal yearning for past glories. In England we still find it hard to comprehend why American power is suddenly so much greater than our own. We never saw how quickly America was outstripping us between the wars. Her political isolationists concealed from us the economic facts. Today we find ourselves in almost the position of the French after 1919. The process of readjustment is just as difficult. We tend to take it out of ourselves (and out of the Labour Government in particular) or in belittling *some* aspect of American leadership. That is why one so often hears European intellectuals deriding American "culture" (which on this side of the Atlantic is seldom given credit for anything outside of Hollywood, the strip cartoons and Henry R. Luce). It accounts for the very commonly held view that America is too "inexperienced" to direct the destinies of the Western democracies.

This ache in the subconscious mind was summed up in the phrase: "No annihilation without representation." That feeling affects working people even more than big businessmen or admirals or politicians, for the working people are simpler and less complicated in their responses. They have in their blood the tradition of Britain's old supremacy. The *Daily Worker* knew well enough what it was doing when it printed a magnificent picture of Lord Nelson on the day the storm broke over Admiral Fechteler's appointment as Supreme Commander of the Atlantic. When it suits them, the Communists can play with superb skill on the atavistic patriotism of the working man.

The response to Aneurin Bevan's resignation underlines the fact that we have *a new kind* of anti-Americanism in this country. Movements of anti-Americanism in the past 25 years have usually affected the business and professional middle classes. Today anti-Americanism is on the whole most marked on the Left among the "intellectuals" and among working people. In the 1920s, for example, there was a boiling up of sentiment over the war debts. This hardly touched the working people, who found the subject incomprehensible. But it affected the conservative middle classes powerfully.

Take another example. During the last war, a large number of British businessmen believed that the conditions attached to lend lease were artfully designed to debar them from their old markets, and to give advantage to their American rivals. Off and on from 1941-44 British industrialists were muttering, "Winston is selling the pass. We must stand up to the Americans." In 1951, it is the British left wing that is saying, "Attlee is selling the pass. We must stand up to the Americans."

The spasms of anti-American emotion on the part of the commercial middle classes aroused by lend lease were equally short lived. The fact that their political idol, Winston Churchill, was the great advocate of Anglo-American partnership caused them to subdue their suspicions and grievances. They grumbled about Winston's pro-Americanism, but they followed him. And, during the past 20 years, there have grown up very close commercial and social relationships between the big business interests in the US and Britain. A dinner of "The Pilgrims" brings out most of the influential tycoons in

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Britain. There may be trouble once more when the effect of the allocation of raw materials becomes apparent, but the natural sympathy between the conservative classes in both countries, soldered by many social relationships, will almost certainly prevail. Many businessmen, hating Socialism and fearing Communism, now regard the United States as so many emotional leftists used to regard Russia—the spiritual home. The White House is, so to speak, their myth substitute for the Kremlin. Among the well-to-do there are plenty of organizations that exist to keep Anglo-American relations sweet. *On the workers' level there are none.*

But there does exist a constant and active propaganda against the United States beamed on the working people. It is organized by the Communist Party, and it is supported by fellow travelers and pacifists of the old school who are not Communists but often genuine liberals and social democrats.

It is interesting that this is the first time in British history since 1776 that there has been an organized movement to spread contempt and suspicion of America. It is a considerable social phenomenon. Anti-British feeling in your country has been kept alive through the years, by the Irish, the German-Americans, the Indian Congress agents and the isolationists. But never before in Europe have we had a concentrated attempt by active groups to persuade us that the Americans are *au fond* a bad lot, as the Irish-Americans persistently tried to persuade the US that the British were a bad lot.

Though this propaganda stems from Communism, it has had an effect far greater than that achieved by any other of the CP "lines." For, being spread by word of mouth in the pubs and in back street gossip, it has influenced men and women who would be appalled if they were told they were echoing Communist patter.

Friends of mine who have talked to factory-gate audiences have been set back by the battery of anti-American questions. Isn't America a near-Fascist state? the questioners ask. Don't those heavenly twins Senator McCarthy and General MacArthur represent the real America? Isn't Truman the stooge of Wall Street?

There have never been the same close links between our Labour ministers and their US counterparts that existed during the war between Tory leaders and prominent Americans in and out of politics. The partnership between Churchill and Roosevelt at the top was reproduced on other levels. Such very different personalities as Beaverbrook, Brenden Bracken and Anthony Eden on the Conservative side cultivated their American acquaintances with unremitting assiduity. But Clement Attlee has never made the journey to Fulton. Herbert Morrison has never been invited to address Congress. The queer myth about modern America that prevails among large sections of the British people could not exist if such leaders of the CIO as Walter Reuther and Phil Murray were at all well known here.

There are obvious difficulties in the way of getting prominent figures in US labor to move about Britain, addressing factory meetings and so on, but there could be no better evangelists at this time.

History never repeats itself but it often parodies itself. The pet phrase of the US isolationists used to be "America is being dragged into war at the heels of imperialist Britain." Nowadays the cry of our own left wing is "Britain is being dragged into war at the heels of imperialist America." If Americans want to know what European neutralists are thinking and saying today, let them recall the prevalent mood of their own 1920s.

In some ways it is probably a good thing that the Bevanite revolt has brought subterranean anti-Americanism into the open. We on this side can more easily come to grips with it, but your help is still needed. The productivity teams of European labor leaders who have been touring the United States to learn American industrial methods have turned out to be a wonderful beginning. You have "sold" something much more vital than technical know how. You have shown the real America to ordinary working people.

By the end of 1950 nearly 3,000 people from Western Europe had made this trip. They all came home with a story to tell, a story that has been told and re-told in a way which is forcing our doctrinaire Socialists to think again. These people have been given a chance to discover *for themselves* what makes America tick.

On a different level the Fulbright scholars are doing equally valuable work—to say nothing of the innumerable private organizations which arrange exchange visits between Europe and the United States.

Yet we still have touched only the fringe of the problem. The policy of letting people see for themselves must be expanded time and again, year after year, if it is to achieve results where they are most needed.

We have to admit that those amiable gatherings where people of different nations conclude a week or two's get-together by toasting each other and pledging eternal good will and international understanding have a very limited value in terms of real diplomacy. But if exchanges could be arranged not in hundreds but in tens of thousands, if the visitors were carefully chosen and their journeys intelligently planned, the impact might be revolutionary.

American and European taxpayers could do no greater service for peace than to break down the Atlantic curtain which for all but a tiny minority still divides the Old World from the New.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Von Lequerica*

ADDITIONAL light has been cast recently upon the treachery practised against the United States during World War II by Franco, the Fascist. A book by Col. Juan Antonio Ansaldo has been published in Spanish under the title *Para que?* (For What?). Colonel Ansaldo makes it clear that Dictator Franco knew what he was doing when he sent to Washington, as his ambassador, the man who is referred to in the book as "von Lequerica." This sobriquet is all the more significant when it is realized that the author, himself a monarchist, was Franco's Air Attaché at Vichy, France, when Lequerica was Spanish Ambassador there.

Thus Colonel Ansaldo is in a position to know what he has written about. As a bitter opponent of the Spanish Republic, he was an early volunteer to the Fascist cause and was doing all that he could to destroy it when Franco, the Fascist, took over after General Sanjurjo, who had been the first choice to lead the rebellion against the Republic, was killed in mysterious circumstances as he was about to be flown to Spain to assume leadership. Colonel Ansaldo had been the pilot of the plane in which General Sanjurjo was killed. He was badly burned trying to rescue the General, but, still wrapped in bandages, he managed to escape from the hospital to rebel territory. For the rest of the war, he was a pilot with Franco's forces.

If one may venture to make a suggestion to Secretary Acheson and those who plotted with him to bring about the recognition of Franco and the appointment of Lequerica as his ambassador, it is that they read *Para que?* even if it causes them embarrassment.

Whether or not they read *Para que?* it is to be hoped that it will be translated into English and widely read. It makes clear why Franco's minions did everything that they could think of to suppress it. After fighting through the Spanish Civil War against the Loyalists under the command of Franco, Colonel Ansaldo was successively the Air Attaché at Vichy, Paris and London. His single thought was to do what he might to destroy the Spanish Republic. He went about this job earnestly and assiduously. He was in every anti-Republican plot. Always, when there was fighting to do, he was in the front ranks in a spectacular way. Between times, he was also an agent for Franco, both inside and outside of Spain. He was the liaison officer for the generals who were conspiring against the Republican Government, even while they were accepting pay from that government. In the spring of 1932, he flew several Spanish officers of high rank to Italy where they successfully solicited aid for the Spanish rebels from Marshal Balbo and Mussolini.

According to *Para que?* Ansaldo was one of 30 army officers chosen on one occasion to invade the War Ministry and seize Manuel Azana, then War Minister, later President of the Spanish Republic. This plot was aborted because the government had advance notice of it. Thereupon, Ansaldo escaped from the country, but he returned as soon as he could to resume his work with the Franco rebels. He took part in the Fascist movement headed by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange, because it was against the Republic.

Colonel Ansaldo has this to say about that other distinguished Fascist, Lequerica, who has been welcomed to Washington with open arms by Secretary Acheson as Franco's ambassador: "José Felix Lequerica was happy [at Vichy]. More German than the Germans, deeply involved in French domestic politics, apparently successful in the job that he had undertaken on his arrival in Paris in 1939, before the outbreak of the World War—to foster Franco-German collaboration against the British—he bathed daily in attar of roses. Laval (who rarely bathed) was his intimate friend and buddy; Abetz (Hitler's alter ego at Vichy) and De Brinon, his assiduous colleagues." And, later: "His [Lequerica's] anti-Yankee animus vibrated in a swelling diapason. 'For God's sake, let no member of the embassy hold out his hand to a North American,' he repeated constantly."

Colonel Ansaldo not only knew his "von Lequerica," he knew intimately Franco and those about him. They fought on the same battlefields. They had the same objective—to destroy the Spanish Republic. However, Ansaldo wanted a restoration of the monarchy, and when he became certain that Franco never intended to surrender the power that he had seized, he went into exile in France, where he now is. He is a supporter of the Spanish pretender, Don Juan, with whom he is on close terms. Now he opposes Franco and all that Franco stands for, although he is not for a restoration of the Republic that he helped to destroy.

In view of the new light thrown upon Lequerica by this man who knew him so well and who worked for him, not only in France but in espionage enterprises in England, just as Franco himself had done for the Germans, it would be fitting indeed if, upon Lequerica's visits to the State Department, he should be greeted by Senor Don Dr. Pat McCarran y Shea and an honor guard with a Fascist salute and a "Heil, von Lequerica!"

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE BULLY TIMES OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT

by Gerald W. Johnson

THE FIRST TWO VOLUMES—there are to be eight—of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* are a fine scholarly achievement. Of that there is no doubt. Perhaps they are a fine historical achievement also, but of that there is doubt, the very devil of a doubt, which will be resolved by factors beyond the editors' control and even beyond their conjecture.

This is the doubt that by the time the work is finished, about 1953, Theodore Roosevelt will still rate eight volumes of scholarly attention. The editors are not oblivious of this. One of them, presumably Mr. Morison, in the introduction to the first volume writes: "There seems to be, within the public memory, a kind of centrifugal force that spins the lighter, or at least more inconsequential, elements of the past out and away from recollection." It is a just observation. That force has already operated on Theodore Roosevelt himself. He has not had weight enough to remain where his idolaters put him, in the central group of the very great Presidents, but has already moved to that of the near-great, the Monroe-Polk-Cleveland group. Will he remain there, or will he spin farther out, into the dim, dark orbit of Pierce, Fillmore and Arthur? If he does, then it must be sadly admitted that some first-rate scholars are losing their labor, for it is unimaginable that any historian, or even any pedant, would read eight volumes of the letters of Franklin Pierce.

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE YEARS OF PREPARATION, 1868-1900. Edited by Elting E. Morison, assisted by John T. Blum and John J. Buckley (Harvard University Press; 2 vols., illustrated, $20).

The answer depends in part on how calamitous the future is to be. When he quit the White House, in 1909, Theodore Roosevelt was remarkable, and he remained so for the next four years. But then calamity fell upon us, and the men who dragged us through two world wars and a titanic depression were so much more remarkable that Teddy's radiance was dimmed. It is possible that we are now moving into a period so difficult that the man who pulls us through will make both Wilson and the second Roosevelt look insignificant; in that case, future searchers of the political skies may be unable to see the first Roosevelt with the naked eye.

However, barring the arrival of some Titan not yet in sight, these volumes afford persuasive evidence that Theodore Roosevelt is likely to maintain his status in the second rank. The fact that they were written before he reached the center of the national stage makes them all the more convincing, for he is seen without the panoply that conceals the humanity of a President. Here is revealed a tremendous will and what the editors call an "obsessive" curiosity, qualities that are bound to raise a man out of the ruck, no matter what his station. Roosevelt was avid of experience; and such a man is interesting, whether he ends in the Presidential chair or on the gallows.

More than that, the man was an extraordinary mirror of his time, and his time was the culmination of one phase of the republic's history. What he says in these letters is less interesting than his choice of subjects; for what Roosevelt wrote about was invariably what was agitating the more articulate, if not necessarily the more intelligent, segment of the population. In 1900 Uncle Sam was about to come out of the wilderness—rather, he had abolished the wilderness—and to do in fact what he had proposed to do in 1776: "to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle" him. He was, therefore, at a point in his development which must always interest historians.

There is perhaps no more accurate description of the cultural status of the United States at this time than the one to be obtained from Theodore Roosevelt's letters written before he felt any special responsibility for the defense of the national culture. The editors have been blamed for including too much trivia, but they had their reasons. Even the junk is enlightening about the times if not about the writer.

Roosevelt was clearly a man uncertain of himself. He was not what he wanted to be and he was determined to be something else. To do him justice, he succeeded to a remarkable extent. The physically weak, essentially shy, basically sybaritic boy became a strong, aggressive, Spartan adult; but he never could be sure how completely he had succeeded.

In this, he was at one with his country. The United States of 75 years ago was adolescent, proud of its muscles, glorying in its destiny, but horribly ashamed of its awkwardness, alternating between brashness and bashfulness. About both the man and the nation there was something appealing, much that was charming and more than a little that was ludicrous. To have this revealed clearly in print is certainly no small advantage to the historian and it gives the record an importance greater than the revelation of a personality.

But the value of these two volumes accrues to the social not the political historian. If Roosevelt, prior to 1900, produced a single political idea of his own this reader missed it—not an impossibility by any means in the mass of nearly 1,600 large pages. Indeed, his philosophy, moral as well as political, is, in the delicate phrasing of his editors, "a recognition, too frequently and precisely stated, of the less recondite facts of life."

Perhaps the later installments will be

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more rewarding to the general reader. One is persuaded that if there is a possibility of making them so it will not be overlooked by the people in charge of the project, for they have gone about their work in admirable fashion. The editors' claims are modest, but they have a right to be pleased with themselves. To begin with the obvious, the Harvard Press has done a beautiful job of book-making in paper, type-face, binding and reproduction of the illustrations. The editing involved the selection of about 10,000 out of perhaps 100,000 available pieces of writing, and there may be errors of omission not apparent; but certainly no criticism can justly be leveled at the handling of what does appear. It is easy to believe that the editors have done justice to Roosevelt since they have labored so well as to give no headaches to the reader.

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THE DEVIL THEORY

SOMEWHERE SOUTHEAST OF SUEZ, by Douglas Reed (Devin-Adair; $3.75).

DOUGLAS REED, an English journalist, has been roaming the world for the last thirty years and has written about it with a strange mixture of observant reporting and obstinate surmise. His new book is the third to be published in the United States. Whether it will win him friends is doubtful, though probably many readers will enjoy his colorful description of the land, life, manners and problems of South Africa. The little-known "dark" continent, which may play a role in the second half of the twentieth century, comes alive in Mr. Reed's adroit and easy writing. The Union of South Africa, the native territories of Basutoland and Southern Rhodesia, with their racial hatreds, their problem of color, their rejection of white immigration and their ensuing stagnation, their feuds, obstinacies and romance, fascinate Mr. Reed and he knows how to communicate this fascination to his readers.

Mr. Reed's intelligent open-mindedness seems suddenly to be shut off when he comes to what he calls "the grand design of the twentieth century." He returns to it again and again, so that the book becomes repetitious and loses its organized structure. Mr. Reed has firm political opinions. He is an old-fashioned nationalist and individualist. He hates the modern welfare state and his heart bleeds at the thought of what the Labour Government did to his beloved England. The point of view is not uncommon.

But where Mr. Reed becomes less common, at least in America, is in his fanatical tendency to see everywhere dangerous men of mystery and sinister plots at work, an approach associated in America almost entirely with the "lunatic fringe." Behind all these conspiracies he finds three great forces working in close collaboration: Soviet Communism, Political Zionism and World Government. There may be—there are—valid objections to each one or all three of these movements, but it is simply not true that they co-operate or are allies, or that, if they be dangerous, they are equally so. Communists and Zionists are not on good terms at all, and Communists attack World Government and its cosmopolitanism. These three movements have no common ground, in origin, leadership or goals. The harmless group that hoped to establish World Government by 1955 with the help of a People's Constituent Assembly represents to Mr. Reed the climax of a horrible conspiracy which, according to him, began with the French Revolution and is now threatening to enslave mankind. His obsession with mystery and plots makes all rational thinking impossible. By exaggeration and fantasy he even robs his valid points of their plausibility. The dangers of our time are increased by this type of emotional confusion. Russia under Lenin and Stalin, Germany under Hitler, have shown how theories of history as governed by devils and plots can destroy the reasoning power of whole peoples and become the instrument of real and not fictitious enslavement.

HANS KOHN

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WARTIME GOVERNOR

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume 3: June 1779 to September 1780. Julian P. Boyd, Editor; Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editors (Princeton University Press; $10).

IN THIS section of the projected fifty-volume edition of the complete papers of Thomas Jefferson, fast-moving events and the improvisations that a conscientious public servant devised to meet them occupy the center of the stage. So far each installment of the *Papers* has achieved a unity of its own. The first book introduced us to the very young Jefferson and carried him on to the period of his greatest public paper, the writing of the Declaration of Independence. The second faithfully recreated Jefferson's work in revising Virginia's code of laws from a semi-feudal system to a republican one. The present volume permits us, bit by bit, to see the world of the American Revolution and Jefferson as wartime Governor of Virginia, struggling against terrific odds, solving problems, worrying, learning to work with other reliable men—among them, his great friend of fifty years' collaboration, James Madison, and his younger friend, James Monroe.

The man we now encounter in numerous brief communications concerned with military intelligence, with requisitions for the Continental Army, even with matters of strategy and tactics, is a hard-pressed and over-burdened administrator who appeared to have had anything but a clean line of duties and functions. Governor Jefferson was target for all and everything. Lagging enlistments were his to hasten and expedite. Horses and wagons, cartouche boxes, barges, and clothing were his to procure, to send North or South as the theatre of war demanded. Complaints from the Continental Congress about Virginia's policy on keeping her Western land claims intact, or failing to pay the last tax requisitioned by Congress, were of course addressed to the Governor. When the news that the British had captured Charleston reached Jefferson some twenty-eight days after the event, he took it upon himself to

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establish a line of expresses from the armies in the Carolinas to Richmond and from Richmond to Alexandria so that important news could safely be had within a few days. And, at almost every turn, Governor Jefferson is in correspondence with General Washington, exchanging precise information about the progress of the war on the home "front" and on the battlefields, and advising each other on the treatment of British prisoners of war.

From this welter of incoming and outgoing correspondence during little more than one fateful year it is apparent that the unhappy ending to Jefferson's two-year term as Governor of Virginia is almost implicit in his vaguely defined functions and the disproportionately small executive authority that was vested in him. But the full story, rounding off this hypothesis, waits upon the next volume, which should complete the period of his second term.

One is able to see in sharp relief the poverty of America (at least once in this nation's history), the precariousness of her fight for freedom, her desperate reliance on French and other foreign aid—troops, officers, ammunition, ships, and especially the almighty (if one may be pardoned the exchange here) French "dollar." Foreigners in this phase of the Revolutionary War were awaited on American shores like angelic deliverers; and the bad impression created abroad by an American defeat was almost more disastrous in its effect upon further loans to underwrite "our glorious struggle for freedom" than was the defeat itself. Thanks to the pungent reports of Virginia's agent in Europe, Philip Mazzei, or the laconic admissions of proud John Adams, the scene in all its hazards is freshly brought home to us.

Consequently, it comes as no great surprise when General Washington bluntly states that his insufficient and inadequately provendered troops must thank Providence and "a Powerful Ally" for escaping the "Yoke of Bondage." Americans today who mistrust the investment of US money, technical and military aid, and especially troops, in European countries might well ponder the conditions that secured America her liberty. ADRIENNE KOCH

Adrienne Koch is the author of Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration.

MARX'S INFERNO

THE BURNED BRAMBLE, by Manes Sperber (Doubleday; $3.95).

MANES SPERBER'S NOVEL tells the story of the people who threw themselves into the Communist movement in Europe, from Paris to the Balkans, during the critical years from 1931 to 1937. One of its great virtues is its presentation of the individual Communists who are its leading figures not as Koestlerian types, each representing a "tendency," but as complex human beings, often sympathetic and sometimes heroic. The story is rich and deep, and the fate of those who become in the end the victims of the organization to which their lives have been dedicated is made truly poignant.

The canvas is huge, but the brushwork is fine, in the European tradition, and it is not easy to assimilate the picture without careful study, nor to assess with finality the work as a whole (a sequel has not as yet been translated). Sperber unravels the intertwined lives—and deaths—of factory workers, scientists, couriers, agitators, policy makers and careerists. Soennecke, leader of the German party and political man par excellence; Denis Faber, intellectual and man of action; Josmar Goeben, so hungry for absolute belief that he becomes a depersonalized agent of the party line—these men and their wives, mistresses, comrades, friends, followers, are engulfed in the rising wave of fascism, in the Communist Parties' blind and foredoomed refusal to struggle against fascism with their natural allies, the social democracies of Europe, and in the final betrayal by the Kremlin of every ideal which had seemed to make their tortured struggles worth while. The book comes to a close with the annihilation, on the battlefields of Spain, in the cellars of the Lubianka, and in the Soviet confession chambers, of the best of the European revolutionists who had managed to escape the Nazi slaughter.

The author's thesis, which he pounds home at somewhat too great length, corresponds very closely to Bertrand Russell's dictum that "It is not worth while to inflict a comparatively certain present evil for the sake of a comparatively doubtful future good." The evil is incarnate in the official leadership of international Communism: it is stupidity that clings to an untenable position because it is received dogma; it is cruelty that coldly allows obedient comrades to be destroyed by fascism because they have outlived their usefulness; it is mystical faith in the infallibility of a human agency.

The intensely political character of the book tempts one to regard it as something more than a novel and to search for the author's own orientation, as with the novels of Alex Comfort and Jean Malaquais (probably the closest counterparts). Perhaps it lies somewhere between the expressed attitudes of two of the principal non-Communist characters, Edi Rubin, Viennese biologist and Socialist fighter, and Professor Stetten, noble iconoclast and mentor of Denis Faber, whom he rescues from disillusion and grief at the collapse of his ideals.

But this is not central to the creative power of *The Burned Bramble*, which reveals Sperber as a writer who believes in man above all. His belief gives this remarkable book its affirmative tone in the midst of raging despair at wasted lives and ruined peoples. With all its weaknesses of loquacity and lack of sufficient differentiation among a mass of characters, the pity and the anguish of *The Burned Bramble* impose upon it a genuinely tragic stature. HARVEY SWADOS

THEATRE

Shakespeare, Continued

WE ARE JARRED nowadays by the inflation of the old Shakespearean manner without necessarily being satisfied with the "natural" tone of more recent Shakespearean interpretation. Most successful Shakespearean actors today compromise between the two methods. They bring a peculiar vigor to the articulation of Shakespeare's lines while trying to convey a certain sensible substance, as if to say, "The language is archaic, loftier and more intricate than ours, but don't let this disturb you; the meaning is really very simple."

My own view is that the new method of speaking Shakespeare is theatrically as false as the old. I almost prefer the latter, because the actor who rants Shakespeare makes it evident at once that Shakespeare's speech belongs to a world that is distinct from the everyday reality of Shakespeare's time as well as from ours.

When we speak of reality on the stage, we are actually speaking of two

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things: the reality of the world which the dramatist is presumably "copying," and the reality of the world of the dramatist's vision—the only reality we can ever see in the theatre. New York, for example, is a very different thing in the plays of Clifford Odets and in those of Sidney Kingsley; the California of Saroyan and Steinbeck is not the same state.

All this struck me with fresh force when I saw Alec Guinness do "Hamlet" in London, and Olivier and Leigh do "Antony and Cleopatra" and Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra." Guinness' "Hamlet" is the most rational I ever saw. He seemed to be trying to explain the play to the audience as if to assure them that there was nothing difficult in it. The result, of course, was that the play seemed hardly worth understanding: it became a rather colorless, flat, pretentious chronicle of dead kings.

Shaw's style is based on a dryly sparkling archness, a mental attitude by which, for the sake of a sharpened intelligence, we see reality as bright, clean, happily awry, unexpectedly jovial and basically commonsensical. The Oliver-Leigh "Caesar and Cleopatra" seemed to me a little timid, as if the respect we owe to Shaw would not permit them to take the liberties with his play that he took with history. Their approach to "Antony and Cleopatra" was not very different in delivery, setting, costuming and general tone from the one they employed for the Shaw play. But the essence of the Shakespearean style, it seems to me, lies in the projection of reality as an *intensely passionate action* seen at a dreamlike distance with uncanny concentration. It might be compared to a mountaintop so sharply lit that, despite our removal from it, we beheld everything on it with overpowering vividness.

Speech in Shakespeare should be neither adornment nor comment, but the music of action itself, as if there were no distinguishing what was being said from what was being done, speech serving as the emotional echo of the deed performed, and action as the concrete image of what is heard.

The old-fashioned ranting of Shakespeare separated sound from real meaning and only outwardly indicated the quality of the poet's intensity. The prosaic rendering of Shakespeare negates the intensity (essential to the meaning) and also divorces meaning from the line of specific physical action which is inherent in every moment of his plays. In the contemporary compromise of recent performances, elevation of tone is used chiefly to make the words audible as well as impressive, while the meaning is still left on the level of commonplace understanding.

Inner passion, contemplation and dream in Shakespeare are expressed in violent, "overlarge" action. But this action—so excessive that at times it strikes me as barbaric, not to say ludicrous—loses its specifically Shakespearean quality if it does not spring from a sense of what Shakespeare as dreamer and contemplator felt about the epic phantasmagoria which is what he saw in life. (The less talented of the older actors appreciated only the blood and thunder of Shakespeare's action; the new actors emphasize only the disembodied mood of Shakespeare's thought.) Superficially, Shakespeare's language may be regarded as the bridge between the two aspects of his work (the plot and its poetic significance), but this makes for a merely external "beauty," a species of melodious intellectualizing. Shakespeare's language is the solution in which both his plots and their significance are organically contained.

In theatre terms, there is no way of speaking Shakespeare well without acting him fully, and no way of acting him well without encompassing and embodying his language. A practised player of bright mind who speaks well is sufficient for Shaw (embodiment here is a secondary factor); Shakespeare can never be truly himself on the stage if the actor is chiefly a good speaker.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR

Video's Rainbow

HISTORY ITSELF will have to decide whether, as CBS's ebullient press release had it, "history marked time for one memorable hour" on June 25. All I know is that everybody else was running around like mad. Color television on a commercial basis, approved by the Federal Communications Commission and sealed by the Supreme Court, was taking to the air that day. A full-hour program was scheduled, and I could have seen it in comfort at a CBS studio. But since not only sponsored color was in the air but frantic bustling as well, I went traipsing off that afternoon to the New Jersey meadows. There, in the Passaic laboratories of the people who make Du Mont television sets and run the Du Mont TV network, I was invited to see not only the CBS show but the rival RCA color system which Du Mont supports.

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Dr. Allen B. Du Mont and his director of research, Thomas D. Goldsmith Jr., had their machine hooked up in a half-darkened corner of the spacious laboratory. Their method receives color electronically instead of mechanically; unlike CBS's government-approved system, there are no revolving discs or drums; there are no adapters or converters; the color broadcast is received in perfect black-and-white on an ordinary TV set (it is "compatible").

This is the miracle for which RCA and most of the other TV-set manufacturers wanted the FCC to shelve CBS's system. Following a test slide showing the primary colors and some secondary combinations, the Du Mont demonstration consisted of three still photographs: (1) a flower garden, (2) a vase filled with flowers, and (3) a harbor scene wherein a lady in a bright skirt looked demurely at the shipping. The colors seemed adequate; the black-and-white reproduction on the "compatible" set next to the color tube showed clearly defined black-gray-white.

On the other hand, the tricolor tour de force was anything but ambitious. There was no motion. The new tube was never set down next to a CBS color receiver so that a layman might compare the fidelity of the hues. And no effort was made to see whether the tricolor tube could bring in CBS's color transmission. Some engineers say it could, if RCA's claims are taken at face value, but Du Mont wasn't playing the game that way.

After looking at the slides twice, we went into another, larger room. Kidding-on-the-level, Dr. Goldsmith pointed out that we were being taken to the laboratory's museum: "We have already put the CBS system there." I think he is moving too fast.

Under the most adverse possible conditions, CBS's color program stood up. As an entertainment, the hour was a clambake. It couldn't help being that, with 16 sponsors and an artistic roster including everybody from Faye Emerson, Arthur Godfrey and Sam Levenson to a special ballet booked by Sol Hurok, and Bill Baird's marionettes from the late Broadway show, "Flahooley." In addition, there had to be some brass and speeches—by FCC Chairman Wayne Coy, CBS Board Chairman William S. Paley, and the network's president, Dr. Frank Stanton. But the colors were exciting—they were not slides or stills, and they were coming over the air and simultaneously going out over the coaxial cable to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington.

There are very few color sets now, but several manufacturers have promised early deliveries. And even the Big Ones —RCA included—may fall into line if the demand warrants. And there will be demand. Much of it will be stimulated by advertisers. General Mills never showed cakes more luscious than those now being exhibited by Betty Crocker. General Mills will undoubtedly want to display more of its products in color.

The Du Mont session proved another point about the advertising appeal of color TV as compared with that of monochrome. The Du Mont people had four TV receivers going simultaneously. At the very moment when CBS was showing a box of Duz in full color, NBC's monochrome was broadcasting the image of a box of Quaker Oats. The breakfast-food package looked dull and washed-out next to the soap product's container. Full color will intrigue the sponsors. Any merchant who compares the two images will want it. And if he wants it, you'll have it. What kind of programs color will bring, by comparison with black-and-white, is another matter. Remember Technicolor and its effect on better films? I'll remind you: none at all.

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